The lamas stay in the Dragshos house the longest of all the guests. 585 784

For seven full days they sat up above on the flat roof, so long as the winter sun shone and produced a mild temperature. They sat before the opened house temple across from the statues of the Buddhas and the demons, read prayers, masses and exorcizing formulas; they blew on their trumpets, beat their drums, rang their bells, in order to exorcize in advance all the evil spirits by which the young couple was threatened according to the prediction of the devil-tamer. But finally /116/ they too moved away, fully satisfied by the success of this week. The [illegible] Dragshos had not been stingy with food and drink nor with money, so they had performed the exorcisms with all thoroughness. At least for a year the demons would not dare now to approach the couple with evil intent, the chief lama had told Lobsang Wanggyal. The latter had said to this quite drily, "oh, oh! (good, good!), " and he had said goodbye to the red-caps in a cool manner. He did not think much of their holiness or magical arts; his e[illegible]ces with them had been too unfortunate, but for the sake of his mother and of his clan he could not quarrel with the lamas.

With this the wedding celebration came to a conclusion; much too early for many a guest who would have liked to celebrate a few days more such as did, in effect, happen, among the very great. But if anyone was glad that the celebration had come to an end, it was Lobsang Wanggyal and his wife Palskyid. They had, after all, kept within tolerable bounds, and the members of the clan had contributed a goodly amount towards the expenses; and yet Lobsang Wanggyal had had to borrow money at usurious rates of interest from the Kashmir tradesman in Leh, in order to be able to hold the wedding in decent style. Old Norbu Wangchug, it is true, would have liked to have had everything in much grander style, especially since the main expenses did not fall upon him. But finally all the others were satisfied: such a large wedding there had not been in Lower Ladakh in a long time.

What became of Namgyal's brothers and sisters now? He had two brothers and two sisters. The brother who was closest to him in age married two years after, as Magpa (128), the daughter of the well- 000

128. If there are only daughters in a family, the relatives and p'as-pun pick a bridegroom for the oldest (or only) daughter when the latter comes of age, which is on her twelfth birthday. In this kind of a marriage the bridegroom is called Magpa, a designation which he keeps as husband later. His position in the house of the wife he has gained in this way is not the same 594 855

● 594 as that of the Bagpo who takes his bride (bag-ma) into his
855 father's house. The Bagpo finally becomes the master of the entire property, in his capacity as heir in his father's house, when the father bequeathes this property to him. But in the
[562] case of the Magpa relationship the daughter who marries the Magpa is the heiress and the mistress in the house after the death of the father. She has full authority over the property (the house, field and cattle), over the children which are the offspring of this marriage, and finally also over her husband. If there should be a disagreement with the latter which is not evened out in due time, the woman has the right to turn the Magpa out of the house and to choose a new one, something which happens quite often and is carried out without many scruples. It also happens that the Magpa by his efficiency gains a respected position and decisive influence in the house
[595] and in the clan of his bride. In Central and East Tibet it happens that as many as two or three men are taken into one house as Magpa of one or more girls, sisters of the same parents.

○○○ to-do farmer Oltangpa (house name, meaning "Clover-fielder") in the village of Tagmachig beyond the Indus River. The youngest of the three brothers entered, when he was only seven years old, as pupil (btsun-ĉuń) the monastery Ri-rdsong, which was one day's journey away and the monks of which were known for their strict observation of the rules of the order. There he gradually, in the course of the years, moved up the hierarchy of clerical dignities to become abbot (slob-dpon). One of Namgyal's sisters married as bag-ma into a house in Tingmogang. The youngest went into the convent as a nun and finally as recluse she moved into a /117/ small cell in the neighborhood of the hermitage of the pious hermit Tsetan in the nearby Skyinling gorge. The penchant for escape from the world and towards asceticism had for a very long time been apparent among many of the members of the mother's tribe. Several members of the family had played a part as abbots or heads of monasteries. With other members of the family the attraction towards the "world" had been all the stronger.

In this manner the problem of settling the future of the children in the house of Dragshos found a happy solution; and Namgyal saw himself in the privileged position of being able to enjoy all to himself

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595 portions, although rather poorer than those of Leh, the inhabitants of Chushod not being so well off as those of the Ladaki capital. I was struck by the untidy, dirty and miserable appearance of those whom we interviewed. None of them acted specially as informant, Nono Tse-P'hün putting his questions to all three of the occupants of the *k'hang-chen*.

595 842 Ishe Palkid's story was that she had been married at 21 and that she had had a child almost immediately but which was, unfortunately, still-born. She had then waited for five years, and as she did not have another baby, and also because Rigzin was alone to cultivate the fields, she agreed to her husband's proposal that Paldan of the Tagchod household should be called in. He was the youngest son of that family, and agreed to join the couple in his double role of extra cultivator and sire to the descendence of the Shing-k'hang household. Seven years had now passed since he had come, but Ishe Palkid did not conceive again. In [599] desperation, they were thinking now of adopting a child, and their choice had already fallen upon one of the sons of Skalzan of the Shingo-pa household.

Upon enquiry, I found that the *porjag* was looked upon exactly as if he were a brother of Rigzin and that this polyandry, which was not fraternal, was, in fact, effectively treated as if it were so. Everything belonging to Rigzin in the house was now shared with the *porjag*, Paldan, who was a *de facto* joint proprietor of the Shing-k'hang-pa property. Paldan was some seven years younger than the wife, having been married to her when he was only nineteen. Rigzin, from a Ladaki point of view even, was not old and quite able to work. He was approximately thirty five, and in good health. But he did not seem able to cultivate the land as he should, and needed another man to help him, he said.

● 594 114 On the 18th September 1938, that is the next day, we went and saw another household, near Leh, in which there was also a *porjag*. It was in a family called *Bata* (*Ba-ta?*) and as things turned out, the genealogy which I made there proved to be the most representative of all those I made in Ladak; it is the one with the greatest variety of cases, showing all the different aspects of the way the social system functions among those polyandrous people.

I have already published this genealogy, the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*Btsong-mK'har-pa*) household, in *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Ser. II, vol. 10, April 1948, No. 6, under the title "Tibetan, Toda and Tiya Polyandry: a Report of Field Investigation". It appears on page 215 of the above publication, but in the

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